FREE SOCIETY

ENTERED AT SAN FRANCISCO POSTOFFICE AS SECOND-CLASS MATTER.

An Exponent of Anarchist-Communism. Holding that Equality of Opportunity alone Constitutes Liberty; that in the Absence of Monopoly Price and Competition Cannot Exist, and that Communism is an Inevitable Consequence.

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THE CAUSES OF SLAVERY.

Why is it that people lose their liberties and become the slaves of some ruler, some autocrat? They become slaves because they deserve to be such, because they have no right to freedom, and they would not know how to use it if they possessed it. This is especially true of France. It has changed its government fourteen times in a century, and each time its people remained slaves as before. They only changed masters each time. The name that a government assumes is no necessary indication of its true character. France has for some time called her government republican, and yet it possesses the worst despotism in Europe today. It is a matter of the smallest moment what the form of government may be, or how the constitution reads, or whether there is any constitution at all or not. The question that interests the people is not this, but what is the character of the men who control the machine; for the government is wholly a matter of machinery and men. The question of principles is not involved—or is involved only so far as a pretense in that direction is rendered necessary in order to give the performance an appearance of respectability. We repeat it, the government is solely a matter of machinery and men—men to run the machine, and the machine to turn out work according to pattern and demand. That is all. When will people be able to appreciate the fact that there is no essential difference in government, no matter what form or name it may assume? When people change government, they only get a new set of masters — nothing more. That is what the Americans get at every election. Any different result would be impossible, for if we have government, we must have governors. The mildness or severity of a government depends solely upon the disposition and tendencies of the master, and not upon the character of the laws.

The work of those who seek to gain the mastery of others, is uniformly done slowly, insidiously, artfully. As a general thing, if people knew just what was about to happen, they would not suffer it to be done. Unfortunately they never know and they never appreciate their condition until it is too late. It is not the strength of conquerors, but the weakness and stupidity of those with whom they deal, that gives them the mastery. One of the prime causes by which men lose their birthright, in matters of State rule, lies in the habit which men contract of allowing or authorizing other men to do work that they ought to do themselves. They have too many agents. These agents finally become themselves the principals. If we should go back in history, particularly in old German and French history, we would find that people lost their rights and privileges as freemen by careless and stupid surrenders on their part, and by steady and never-ending encroachments on the part of their rulers. Originally the people had all the power—legislative and judicial, and to a large extent the executive power also. They had few agents and no masters. They did their own work and attended to their own affairs. That is how it came that they were free men. But gradually they increased in wealth, and with wealth came a desire for enjoyments and repose. They came to have agents, or officers, and they surrendered one right after another until finally they found themselves, as they might have expected, in the power of very men they had selected to serve them. Originally the king was only a servant of the people. Now he is the master. Here let us quote what Henry Gaullieur says in this connection: "Of what use are printed constitutions, if the State controls the population, if the citizens have become political children or dummies unable to control and overrule their agents? How can the national estate thrive, if the owner retires and goes to sleep during many years, after empowering the manager, the agent, to act as he pleases, to engage in foolish ventures, to spend all the cash, mortgage the property, and to keep him practically under lock and key? What difference does it make if this estate is a republican sheep and cattle farm, or a monarchical vineyard?" Is this not exactly our case today in America? Are not our people practically asleep, so far as affairs of government are concerned, and do they not leave everything to officers whom they do not know and whom they did not even have the pleasure of naming? Do not these officers do just as they please with both ourselves and our property? Do we ever ask them for an account of their stewardship? Do they not put a mortgage on our farms every time they make an appropriation? Was not the $9,000,000 wanted for the canals a mortgage on every man's estate in the commonwealth? When we are so stupid and so willful as to do business in this way, or to allow it to be done in this way by others, should we wonder if we finally find ourselves in the condition of vassals, bondsmen, slaves? We get what we deserve; when we are too indolent, or too stupid, to attend to our own affairs, we really ought to leave the business to some one who is more enterprising and ambitious than ourselves. If the agent or representative finally takes all we have, that is simply our misfortune, and we have no right to complain. Our people are too passive and too accommodating by half. Other people before us had the same weakness, the same unfortunate proclivities, the same dangerous tendencies, and they came at last to the end that we ourselves are now approaching. —Newark Courier.

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ACROSS THE CONTINENT.

V.

CHICAGO TO ST. LOUIS.

It would take too long to recount all my experiences in Chicago. Here I made my longest stop, and met the greatest number of comrades that I have found in any single city. Even a list of them, without comment, would consume a great deal of space. My visits to Lucifer office were of special interest and pleasure. Moses Harman, that grand veteran in the cause of woman's full emancipation, was absent in the South: but his daughter Lillian was a most efficient substitute. She is a splendid example of the truly free woman, strong in her self-respect, an earnest worker for human liberty and human enlightenment. Every radical who visits Chicago should visit 507 Carroll Ave., and meet the Lucifer workers.

One Chicago comrade I cannot pass without a more special mention. He is so modest, and unwilling to hear himself talked about, that his work for the propaganda is not half appreciated. This is comrade C. Pfuetzner, 469 Wabash Ave. His whole heart is in the Anarchist movement. Out of his hard work and small earnings, he manages to devote more time and money to the cause than any other worker. He never stops to consider sacrifices; because no effort in behalf of the movement seems a sacrifice to him. His assistance to Free Society has always been of most vital importance; and the preparations for my stay in Chicago were largely due to his unwearied exertions.

Omitting many of whom I should like to speak, I must devote a few words to the unique personality of Walter L. Sinton. He is the most lovable of men, and possessed of splendid intellectual qualities. Some comrades do not understand him, because of his metaphysical tendencies; but when it comes to vital principles, his feet are firmly planted on the earth. He believes in brotherhood, but not in a sickly sentimentalism; in spirituality, but not in dogmatic religion; in peace and order, but not in authoritarian institutions or economic slavery; in love, but not in social or sexual bondage. Liberty and brotherhood, individuality and solidarity, according to his conception, cannot exist apart. Hence he is an ardent propagandist, along the whole line, and has helped to open the eyes of a great many people.

I gave quite a number of lectures in Chicago. Some of them were well attended, others not. The Social Science Club, composed mainly of comrades and sympathisers, meets weekly in Masonic Temple. Here I delivered four addresses, followed by interesting discussions. I spoke once at the Hull House, widely known as an experiment in the line of a social settlement. Such institutions make no impression on the economic system, but can be made valuable centres for educational work. Another, of a similar nature, is the Chicago Commons. Its chief directing influence, Prof. Graham Taylor, is practically a Christian Socialist along the line of Prof. George D. Herron, but an exceptionally broad-minded man. He takes special pains, not merely to hear all sides himself, but to secure a full hearing for them before the Commons. I had an excellent audience there. Later, at his invitation, I addressed his class of embryo ministers in the Chicago Theological Seminary. My subject was "Ideal Anarchy." The students showed real interest, asked many questions, and took note of the literature which I recommended to them. It is well to sow the seed in every kind of soil, as we can never tell where it may germinate, and bring forth good fruit.

Leaving Chicago just after Christmas, I made two short side visits, and then headed for Spring Valley, Ill. Here I met comrade Joe Corna, and many French and Italian comrades, to whom the movement here is almost entirely confined. In this historic little mining town, the fire has never been suffered wholly to die out. The comrades are handicapped in many ways, but are ardent and enthusiastic workers. Joe is a particularly capable propagandist, and keeps always at it. At some times, they have had two or three different groups of comrades here, all doing active work. I held two meetings here, with a fair attendance. The comrades here contributed liberally toward the success of my tour, and sent an additional ten dollors later on, when I came near being stranded among the Rockies.

Railroad connections with Spring Valley are far from ideal; and on my way to St. Louis I was forced to stop for the night in Peoria. Here I read an editorial in one of the local papers, favoring easy divorce, and sent its editor a letter in behalf of sex freedom, which he published, as I have since learned. As Peoria afforded no further field for work, the following morning I was on my way to St Louis. A few hours' ride; and the train rolled into the great Union Station in St. Louis, the second largest in the country, and, I believe, in the world, being excelled in size and elegance only by the new Union Station in Boston. During my fortnight's visit, I stayed with comrade August Lelievre, 2833A Chestnut St. Comrade Lelievre is extremely in earnest, and possessed of the excitable French temperament. He makes no reservations in his love for the cause, and is of the few who are always reliable, and always relied on, when there is work to be done.

JAMES F. MORTON, JR.

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For Chicago.

Decoration Day, picnic and meeting in the woods, north of Waldheim cemetery. Bring your lunch. Meeting called at 2 o'clock, important matters to be considered. Comrades Mrs. Parsons, Jay Fox and others will speak.

Comrades at the monument will direct you to the place.

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Anarchy.—A social theory which regards the union of order with the absence of all direct government of man by man as the political ideal: absolute individual liberty.—Century Dictionary.

NOTE AND COMMENT.

About two years ago even some of our readers hailed the probable annexation of Cuba by the Americans, still laboring under the delusion that a secular government was preferable to that of Spain's. And who will deny that McKinley has improved immensely upon the methods of Spain? Even George III. is left in the shadow. King George taxed tea; McKinley taxes bread. Spanish troops could not break the rebellious spirit of the Islanders, but McKinley accomplishes that by starvation and the suppression of all the papers which happen to doubt the benevolence of the American administration. There probably was a time when religion influenced a government, but today money rules, and it is a well known fact that the American capitalist is the most greedy and inconsiderate in the world.

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Hideous stories come from the Philippine Islands, which McKinley benevolently assimilates with guns, whiskey and bibles. A soldier from Ohio, stationed on Mindanos Island, describes shocking scenes of which he was an eye-witness. "American authority, through fear of overthrow, has been forced not only to recognize slavery, but to protect the slaveholder." For not permitting a sentry to shoot an escaping slave, an American officer was degraded to the ranks. This officer will now probably realize that governments do not exist to protect the weak, but to enslave and rob them.

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A reader from Chicago who appends to his name "the conscious parasite, by the will of the wage-slave," writes: "The situation in Chicago is *strike*, STRIKE, STRIKE, and an undercurrent that denotes that hell is about to break out at both ends; and the gates ajar (Wire & Nail Trust gates) have opened so wide as to let over 6,000 discharged wage slaves out, that they may go fishing this spring.

"Capitalism is bound to smash itself soon, if some fools don't head it off. And the police are exhibiting the gatling guns or artillery, to show the laborers what they may expect to feed on soon.

"We have forts, arsenals and well drilled wage slaves—ready and willing to shoot their brothers for a price."

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A CALL FOR CHICAGO.

Decoration Day, May 30, is a day set apart for the commemoration of the "services rendered" by the soldiers who were killed in the Civil war. Very many flowers are strewn upon their graves, and much patriotic cant is spread upon the breeze on that occasion. It is the preachers' and politicians' opportunity, and they utilize it to its fullest extent.

Now, we Anarchists have no desire to assist in the perpetuation of a day devoted to the glory of war and wagedom, but we wish to visit the graves of our murdered comrades, who gladly gave up their lives rather than cringe before a haughty plutocracy or compromise their principles. Decoration Day offers the most convenient means to that end. It is the only day in the year that the authorities will permit assemblages of any size to congregate in the cemetery. Thus we have paid our annual visits to the shrine of martyrdom on that date.

Let it be remembered: we approach not the martyrs' tomb to mourn, nor with feelings of regret that they are dead; but rather with hearts rejoicing that such noble, chivalrous men have once lived. The best way to mourn them, is to carry on the work to which they were so vigorously devoted. It is as they would have it. Ours is not to bewail the past,—that is the occupation of fools; but with hearts radiant with hope prepare the way for the society of the future. A vast work is before us, and we are weak indeed, if its size or our own apathy are allowed to prevent us from doing our share.

At no period since the trying times of '86 has the necessity for a general meeting and a closer co-operation of the Chicago comrades been greater. The local propaganda is reduced almost to nil. Indeed, our enemies are proudly proclaiming, and not, I am sorry to admit, without very good reason, that Anarchy is dead. How long, I ask, are you going to permit them to joyously revel in their pernicious bliss? Of all parts of America Chicago should be the hotbed of Anarchist propaganda. It should stand out in bold relief as an unmistakable warning to all the world that Anarchy grows the fastest around the gallows erected for its execution. Is the prophecy of Spies to be fulfilled, or is it to become a hollow mockery on the lips of his defilers? How much are we laboring now that the voice of the people may be heard? How many voices do I hear re-echoing "Hurrah for Anarchy"? I cannot but think that a feeling of remorse and shame will beset us as we approach their graves with these reflections fresh in our memories.

Coupled with the question of local propaganda, is the Paris congress of Revolutionists to be held in September, the vast importance of which I dare not begin to touch upon in this short letter. The question of sending a delegate to that gathering of the world's greatest socioliogists will be considered at this meeting on Decoration Day.

Let us get to the cemetery by 12 o'clock, if possible fetch our lunches, and after viewing the monument, adjourn to the woods north of there, where the train stops, and enjoy a profitable afternoon in mutual interchange of thoughts and ideas concerning the future of the propaganda. Let us demonstrate to the world that Anarchy *is* alive and its voice so loud and strong that the glittering pomp and mad roar of commercialism cannot drown it, and that it is attracting the workers, who will one day bear its crimson banner over the ruins of a society reared upon iniquity, inequality and imperialism.

J. Fox.

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STONES FOR BREAD.

The April Arena has a long article on "Property: Its Psychology and Sociology," by C. J. France of Clark University. He terms the man who said "property is theft" a fanatic; and further says:

Socialism, however, has assumed so many and such various forms that it perplexes one to discover just what the Socialist believes; and it is because of this, together with the rashness of the radical views held by many of the adherents of Socialism, *that it has fallen into disrepute*, and a large body of progressive and intelligent men calling themselves Socialists have thereby been mis-apprehended. If Socialism means that all property is the result of labor, and hence all property naturally belongs to the laborer, *we cannot accept it.* This theory as to the right of property was advocated by as great a philosopher as John Locke, and also *seems* to be the key-note of the elaborate discussion of Karl Marx.

Professor France is too clever to "accept" the Standard Dictionary definition of "property," which is:

The original rights of property follow directly from the exercise of personal power. Man has a right to what he produces in the exercise of that personal power, whether the production be by labor of body or of soul. By this principle, the Creator and Moral Governor has an absolute right to everything created; as in the lower sense man has a relative right to whatever he has in any way produced.

But he goes on, immediately after his sneer at Karl Marx, to give a fools explanation of the "three-fold nature of property. (1) Property resulting from labor; (2) property resulting from intellect, or mind, which is not *strictly* labor; (3) property resulting from neither mind nor labor." (?!)

Again he says:

Investigating the field of biology, we find property-getting to be a fundamental instinct, extending all through the animal world; also, that property-getting becomes more intense during the period just before giving birth to young.

This is false reasoning because the animals do not store property as property, but as life; they, in fact, lay up a store of life and not property. How does the foregoing quotation agree with this, which comes immediately after: "No one factor has had greater influence in evolving *mind* and creating civilization than individual property," and why does not this professor of deception illustrate the truth of this last buncombe by pointing to Jesus the Nazarene carpenter as embodying the so-called fact? He certainly does show that animals are more civilized and possess more noble instincts than the man who stores up some million bushels of wheat, not for the sake of life, but for the purpose of robbing his fellow men.

The professor also states that "property introduced slavery, and after several thousand years caused the abolition of slavery upon discovery that a free man was a better property-making machine," and "private property the most beneficent of all God's gifts to man. Those who advocate Communism would put mankind on a level with the savage." Here again he fails in lucidity, as he does not say to which of the seventeen authenticated crucified gods of the world he refers to as God; but it could not be Jesus (the 17th), because we read in that God's Bible: "And the multitude of them that believed were of one heart and of one soul; neither said any of them that aught of the things which he possessed was his own; but they had all things in common." But this man eats his own words, as can be seen from the following:

The multi-millionaire is an example of the strength of this same passion to get and to have. The result of the struggle in business instigated by this passion, is often to be deplored. It tends to sap out all of man's sentiment, and to atrophy his ability for enjoyment of play . . . it is almost impossible for a man to succeed in business and be strictly honest. [Thus evolving mind, eh?—K-J.] Among other psychoses developed out of property, we find that inherent tendency to obey—that willingness, almost amounting to a desire, to be led by the rich and powerful; also the tendency to believe in and give way to the man of wealth.

The last paragraph might be conclusive if C. France was a fair sample of the human race; but a few more quotations from the fifteen pages of this "unique and important contribution to the literature of sociology," as Editor Fanning footnotes it, will still more emphasize the wonderful stride this takes toward "the social advance" to which the magazine is dedicated. What do you say, Fanning, to canonizing France as the 18th savior of the world, because he has discovered that private property evolves mind, and Jesus Christ was of no account whatever, for he had no property, not even a second shirt, according to the legend? It was a pretty bad way though to serve an innocent loving son of God, when, as France says, "private property is the most beneficent of all God's gifts to man." Holy Father!

The chief characteristic of civilization is social organization on a basis of property right. It is because of this close relation between government and property, together with the complexity of each, that knotty problems are continually arising to baffle the legislators. . . .

Wherein exists the strength of *our* republic? In the small landholders and property possessors *so numerous* on our soil.

In 1889 Thomas G. Shearman after very careful investigation found that 1.4 per cent of the population owned 70 per cent of the wealth; 9.2 per cent of the population owned 12 per cent of the wealth; 89.4 per cent of the population owned 18 per cent of the wealth.

The official report of 1890 shows 12,690,152 families in the United States; 4,369,572 own homes; 6,623,735 rent homes; 1,696,890 mortgaged homes. Today probably .85 per cent of the population own 85 per cent of the wealth; and probably the figures are 2,369,527 families own homes; 3,696,890 homes are mortgaged; it is certain that today capitalists are taking 85 cents out of every dollar's worth of property that Labor produces; in the case of coal oil *Labor gets only one cent per gallon.*

"In the small landholders and property possessors *so numerous* on our soil" was written by an arrant fool or an intellectual prostitute.

The writer believes it is not, as some would have us think, that the people are becoming dissatisfied with their humble portion and are crying, like the babe for the stars, for the unattainable wealth and luxury of the few. Nor does he believe that the ancient remedy for the child,—a good spanking—will in this case effect a cure; but that the reason is that we are drifting away from a pure democracy, not living up to our ideals. . . . The one chief method of solution lies in this, viz.: we must come before that most unflinching of tribunals—political justice, which in a democratic State is the one panacea for all ills.

Political justice is on a par with black white, wrong right, bad good, bitter sweet, honest C. J. France.

That government which depletes and does not care for the masses of individuals not only saps out its own vitality and tolls its own funeral knell, but also aims a direct blow at evolution and progress.

All governments have done, are doing, and will do just this and nothing more. Does not the professor know the middle classes in America just now are being crushed out of existence more rapidly than during the downfall of Rome and Greece? Doubtless he does, but this is one of the many things he keeps locked up in his dark room. It is now a well known fact that university professors risk their bread and butter and their "chair" by proclaiming what they know to be true on the subjects of wealth, property and money.

A few years since a New York journalist was honest enough to publish the truth in the following words:

There is no such thing as an independent daily press. We are all slaves! You know it and I know it. There is not one of you that dare express an honest opinion. I am paid $150 per week for keeping honest opinions out of the paper I am connected with. The man who would be so foolish as to write honest opinions would soon be out on the street hunting for another job. The business of a journalist is to distort the truth; to lie outright; to pervert; to vilify; to fawn at the feet of mammon and to sell his country and his race for his daily bread. We are the tools and vassals of rich men behind the scenes. We are intellectual prostitutes, and our time, our talents and our possibilities are all the property of men.

If university professors were as honest and outspoken as the New York newspaper man, their declaration would be on the same lines.

France manages to conclude his contortions with "Christianity" as the final word, a word that stinks in the nostrils of thinking men, who realize the degradation that nineteen centuries of such superstition has brought on those who labor.

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Walter Spence in "Evolution and Immortality," vaporizing about "divine energy," "divine spark," "God," "soul," etc., says:

The space between an ascidian (an animal intermediate between vertebrate and invertebrate) and a thinking brain is as wide as that between temporary existence and unlimited existence. If an ascidian can evolve mind, the briefer life of an ascidian may evolve endless life. Somewhere along the process it may pick up the quality of continuance, as somewhere according to the theory it picks up the sense of moral freedom; for there is nothing in this assumed potentiality of matter adverse to continuance. This line of argument seems to be sound. . . .

Thus, it is believed, does Nature develop a survival power that enables man to bridge the gulf of death and endure forever. The answer, then, to our first enquiry is that from an evolutionary standpoint immortality is possible. We come to our second inquiry, Does evolution furnish any grounds for the probability of immortality? I believe that it does. . . .

Whence comes this hope? Theology answers, God put it there. Evolution answers, It is a product of evolution. Both are right—God put it there by the process of evolution. . . .

Tell me that God has spent ages in making a fruit-tree to live only a few years and give food to man and then to die and molder back to dust, and I say it may be. Tell me that God has spent ages in making a horse to live only a few years and be a servant to man and then return to dust, and I say it may be. Tell me that God has spent eons in evolving the earth to make it a fit habitation for man, and that after awhile when it has served its purpose in the evolution of man it will return to nothingness, and I say it may be. But when you tell me that God has used what seems to us an eternity in evolving man only that he may live a few short years and then be utterly annihilated, I say such cannot be.

Now, if all this were offered in the columns of a spiritualistic fog book, no one would complain; but to find it in a magazine that is sold as a medium in which to find ideas for "social advance" is—to be very mild—immoral, as the readers expect some proposal as to the way in which to improve the present damnable conditions of life. We all know as much about death as we desire to know—and cannot know more while we live; and the concentrated knowledge of all the parsons in the world, with a Spence or two thrown in, cannot enlighten us as to "*the beyond*" with greater accuracy than could an idiot. It is childish stupidity, or criminal arrogance, to suggest as facts certain things that no one can disprove any more certainly than Spence's. I say it may be, and the only negative would be "mebbe 'taint."

It is comical in the extreme how Spence refers to God and then entirely overlooks the statement in the Bible—book of fables—"And God saw everything that he had made, and, behold, it was very good, and the evening and the morning were the sixth day. Thus the heavens and the earth were *finished* and all the host of them. And on the seventh day God *ended* his work which he had made; and he rested on the seventh day from all his work which he had made." He certainly deserved a rest—and we deserve a rest from robbery, but Spence is determined to help the robbers all he can—yet he must believe the world was made in six days or be damned, sure.

The last line of Spence's wishy-washy twaddle, "by whose light my soul shall gladly tread its pathway to the skies," is too-too-funny. Fancy Spence's soul treading its pathway to the skies! Gee whiz!

KINGHORN-JONES.

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Hypocrisy is the necessary burden of villainy.

REPORT FROM WASHINGTON.

When an Anarchist is billed to lecture, many are attracted by curiosity to see what he or she looks like and to hear what peculiar doctrine they expound. It is therefore important that the speaker should possess in the highest degree those qualities that please; and we rejoice when the propagandist is liked and can voice our highest hopes and loftiest aspirations.

Jas. F. Morton, the new champion of the old cause—Liberty, has been with us. We as well as the Democrats can now boast of "our boy orator," although he is not so popular as democracy's idol. There were no bands nor banners, no flowers, triumphal arches, no shouting multitude; but perhaps what was lost in quantity was gained in quality. Tacoma, like many other cities, has any number of mystics and faddists of every kind, but outspoken radicals are few and far between. At each of the four lectures delivered here the attendance was small, but very appreciative. I am sure that what they heard has started some of them reviewing their convictions.

I think that those who came to cross swords with him, found themselves in the position of the duelist, when during the course of combat his weapon fell from his grasp, and making a desperate effort to recover it, he saw his opponent magnanimously handing it to him. If there is anything more conspicuous than another in Morton's expressions, it is tolerance. The up-to-date propagandist realizes the necessity of the broadest tolerance; the demand for it increases as education advances and opinions diversify. His is the undermining rather than the battering-down style of argument. His lectures show clearly the scholar and philosopher.

In Seattle Comrade Morton spoke on April 15. This is a city of eighty thousand inhabitants, yet, strange as it may seem, in this great western metropolis professed radicals are almost as scarce as snakes in Ireland. There is a good deal of patchwork going on; but the work of tearing down the old structure and building from bedrock principles is very slack indeed.

A week's visit to Joes Bay colony has convinced our comrade that the hands-off policy adopted by the colonists will produce the best results, and that Communism will eventually be the flower on the plant now growing on the shores of Puget Sound. The colonists are all well advanced along all lines of progressive thought, yet they acknowledge that this visit will stimulate and encourage them in their efforts for greater and better things.

May he and others continue to utter inspiring words that spur to action, until liberty rests on the ruins of the present despotism.

T. SHEEDY.

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MORE ON METHODS AND TACTICS.

So much has been said lately in Free Society regarding lawyers, methods, and tactics of propaganda, etc., that it may not be out of place for me to add my mite.

Some months ago Henry Addis bitterly denounced the action of the miners in Coeur d'Alene. In answer to my criticism to same, he said that I had lost sight of the point he wished to make, and quoted the following from his previous article:

It seems that the miners love to be bossed,—love slavery. With the Wardner episode and its consequences in their eyes, in fact with the sickening transaction going on, the miner's union convention at Salt Lake City endorsed the S. L. P.

It seems they are unable to learn the lesson—though the tuition comes high—that government is conspiracy and murder, and that they had as good a right to take possession of the mill at Wardner as to blow it up. It seems that they don't understand that if the government owned and operated everything they would be more powerless, more servile and more completely under the thumb of the bosses.

In the same article he winds up thus:

The work of the military officials in destroying the Union is tyrannous in the extreme, but perhaps it will eventually result in showing the sickly fawners before public authority that governments are not created for them, but rather for their enemies.

Exactly; but the miners had also as good a right to blow up the mill, as to take possession of it. Their method may have differed from Addis', therefore he attacked them, i. e. he assumed an attitude that he now censures in his opponents. And if governments (laws) are "conspiracy and murder," how can Addis uphold lawyers and judges (as Anarchists) to administer or mete out "conspiracy and murder" to people for whom it is not "created and maintained"?

Now, we may not believe that the S. L. P. is going to help us out of our present economic dilemma, but if the miners do believe it, should we blame them and lose sight of everything that is good in the Trade Union method because the Western Federation of Miners endorsed the S. L. P.? We certainly ought not to, when some of us are doing even worse, because we not only believe but know better. According to Addis' former writings "to support government is to aid tyranny," and if being lawyers, or sitting on jurries and acting as judges over our fellow men, is not "aiding and supporting tyranny," will some one please name it?

I admit it is a mistake we radicals sometimes make, that of criticizing our fellow reformers' actions and mode of propaganda, when we should be attacking the common enemy and concentrating our fire upon their stronghold, instead of scattering our shot on petty differences. And every one has, of course, a right to choose his own method of propaganda, but when I consider such methods destructive to the movement, I am also justified in opposing such tactics. For instance, I do not believe that, if by using Gov. Pennoyer, Senator Simon, et al., and their wealth and influence he gives them prestige among the reform element, it is good propaganda. These men are shrewd enough to know that they will get free advertising by it, and it will help to sugar the campaign pill. Beware of the man with an ax to grind, especially the political ax. The fact that $35 out of $40 were collected for Emma Goldman's meetings from such a class of people, when the political campaign was on, proves my statement.

Addis says in another article, that we are not "reverends, priests, rabbis, political heelers," etc., "because we have not the education that fits us for these jobs, but we do work among them." I hope Addis does not take upon himself the responsibility of answering for all Anarchists. Speak for yourelf, Addis, for the rest of us might not feel complimented to come under the general "we."

If we cannot live up to our ideal, let us admit it; if we cannot be consistent, let us say so; but for the sake of the cause, let us not excuse our actions.

That a man's actions do not influence his writings, or that his influence for good will not be hampered or limited, if he does not in action carry out his belief or ideal to some extent at least, is a mistaken idea. Take for instance that "scab" on the Socialists, A. M. Dewey. Does any intelligent, thinking person for one moment believe in the sincerrity of a man who pretends to be a Socialist, a Trades Unionist, a member of the Knights of Labor, at the same time sanctioning the action of Gov. Steunenberg in the Coeur d'Alene outrage, and holding a fat political job under a Republican administration?

To be a truly consistent Anarchist, is, I believe, under present conditions an impossibility; but to be honest with ourselves, striving for the best, is always possible. We all fail so many times and fall short of the goal, that many us of feel we are not worthy of the name we have taken; but let us go on, striving ever upward to higher thoughts, boaring in mind that if we would have our bell ring clear and perfect in the heights, we must ourselves go up into the heights. We cannot make a bell in the valley to ring in the heights.

MAME ROSKIE.

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FOR A REVISED DICTIONARY.

Imperialism has made necessary new definitions of old words—equally applicable in England and in this country. For example:

LIBERTY—The rule which a strong nation imposes upon a weak one.

FREEDOM—Such measure of local self-government as a conquering nation deems safe for its subjects.

CIVILIZATIONN—Our way of doing things.

THE CONSTITIUTION—A rubber blanket when the Executive needs to stretch his authority; a woolen blanket when it is necessary so to shrink it that it will not cover island possessions.

GOOD FAITH—A readiness on the part of Boers, Porto Ricans, Filipinos and Cubans to accept whatever the governments that have taken them in charge may offer.

BENEVOLENT ASSIMILATION—What the lion gives to the lamb.

DUTY AND DESTINY—A freebooter's commission.

THE FLAG—A nation's "best commercial asset."—Cecil Rhodes.

A new edition of the Imperial dictionary will be awaited with much interest.—The World.

◆ ◆ ◆ ◆ ◆

For Western Pennylvania.

The first picnic of the season of the American, Italian, French and German comrades will take place on Decoration Day, May 30, on Comrade Meyer's farm, Lock No. 3, near Elizabeth, Pa. Trains leave the Lake Erie Depot direct to Lock No. 3 at 7.50 a. m. and 12.40 p. m.

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The number printed on the wrapper of your paper shows that your subscription has been paid up to that number.

RANDOM SHOTS.

Comrade Ballou tells me that I know just what Anarchist-Communism means. I am glad to hear how well informed I am. Since I am such an authority on the subject, I hasten to state what it means for the benefit of others who, as I know, are much bothered by their inability to answer the question.

As far as I can learn, Anarchist-Communism has no fixed meaning. There are men, calling themselves Anarchist-Communists, who believe that without universal and perpetual expropriation, defended by force, there can be no true Communism. There are others, claiming the same name, who believe that with universal and perpetual expropriation, defended by force, there can be no true Anarchism. Both parties work together in propaganda, and recognize each other as genuine Anarchist-Communists. Yet the difference is fundamental, and the Commercialist cannot use against the one any of the arguments that he must use againt the other.

The only thing one can do in such a discussion is to find out what conception one's opponent holds, and take that as the definition so long as one deals with that opponent. My question about the whiskey was intended for that purpose. Ballou's answer shows that he is strong on his Communism; one must not shut his neighbors out from access to any wealth, even if they seek such access with the undisguised purpose of making it impossible for their neighbors to enjoy that wealth. Well, then, I shall know where to find Ballou whenever I want to discuss Communism with him. But I am perfectly sure that many supporters of Free Society would say, in contradiction to Ballou, that there is something in Anarchist-Communist philosophy "to prevent whiskey being converted into varnish, if it is being done simply to prevent the whiskey being drunk."

In that connection Comrade Ballou charges me with "the absurdity of groups of protection in an Anarchist-Communist society;" but my whiskey problem contained no such supposition. He also hits at me for being myself "a Prohibitonist," wanting to kick my neighbor into taking care of himself. I am not in favor of the prohibitory liquor law as a good thing in itselt, nor have I been so since I was associated with the Anarchist movement. I guess I have, since then, voted the Prohibition ticket as a choice of the least evil. (Victor Yarros said in conversation with me half a dozen years ago that the liquor license law was more of an outrage on liberty than prohibition.) I am now, and for some years past, in the habit of not voting at all. I might vote if I had the chance to do such a job as Comrade Small did in the Provincetown town-meeting.

But Ballou wants to turn my question about the meaning of Anarchist-Communism into an argument against it, and then to invert the argument by supposing the same thing to happen in "the society his [my] philosophy would inaugurate." Why, surely any defender of property has his answer ready at once. To go turning whiskey into varnish without the whiskey-makers leave is plain government, and such doings must be suppressed, or else we have no Anarchy at all. That's Commercialism. It may not suit some Communist, but surely it is definite and intelligible.

Yet, if I understand Ballou's paper rightly, his real answer to my whisky question is about in this same form. He would say that we have no Anarchy at all so long as we have any people who want to put difficulties in the way of their neighbors' drinking whiskey. (I don't charge Ballou with being a whiskey fiend—on the contrary, I suspect that in answering my question he is biased by the feeling that to lose the privilege of whiskey drinking is no serious loss.) All through his article he insists that we must have a general "reform of people's habits, characters and opinions" before we can have Anarchy. In other words, his Anarchy is a sort of millennium, and is as dimly remote in the future as any other millennium. I admit that such things can be reformed—for instance, the downfall of duelling—but no man can set a limit to the time that will be taken to accomplish one such reform, let alone Ballou's "great many respects." There are in this country several million Anarchists of the Ballou type—people who believe that as soon as mankind becomes saintly government will be obsolete. But most of them are logical enough to see that on that theory the business of the present day is to make mankin l saintly, and not waste strength on an Anarchist agitation that has nothing to do with present-day conditions. The sort of Anarchism that I like to concern myself with is the sort that means to do something with men as they are.

* * *

Comrade Ballou suggests that Comrade Morris prefers to write "for those who read to learn rather than to criticize." I don't know whether Morris will feel obliged to his defender. The type of man that reads to learn without criticizing—in other words, to swallow whole whatever his paper prints—is certainly not my ideal. If any man will show me how to ru ideas through a harder mill of criticism than I do now before accepting them, I'll do it.

As to what Comrade James says of my "method of argument," that I aim "not at the establishment of facts," "not to arrive at truth," "but only at finding or making flaws in the other fellows' attorney's logic," this is mere false accusation. And what he says I "can hardly pretend" as to the effect of what he chooses to call my "scattering shot," is the very thing that I do pretend and have pretended.

(By the way, I see that in my "scattering shot" I committed a great error in "Mistering" Comrade Brukk. I most humbly and heartily beg her pardon.)

And in general, whereas Comrade James charges again and again that my "method of argument" is not adapted for the ascertaining of truth, I deny the charge, and assert that the method which he seems to mean is well adapted for the ascertaining of truth. Comrade James' attitude, in trying to rule it out as illegitimate, is a fair parallel to that of those people who assert that ridicule must never be used in any discussion of religion; only Comrade James' position is rather the weaker of the two. Since he has not rested his charge on any basis but his own dogmatic assertion, my dogmatic denial may be a sufficient answer, and may take the place of a great deal that I might say about my style of debate and Comrade James'.

* * *

If I were to discuss his style thoroughly I should have to praise him for one thing at least, his lucid reduction of his claims to a series of five numbered propositions. Not the least merit of this admirable statement is the clearness with which it shows that he has not read attentively anything that I have written in the course of this discussion with him.

His first four propositions I have not disputed, nor have I anything against his fifth, if by "saving" he there means unproductive hoarding. If he means his "saving" to include investment, then No. 5 is absurd on the face of his own statement.

The only change I want to make is to add two more propositions: (6) what No. 5 says about saving is equally true, and for the same reasons, of unproductive consumption—such as Comrade James' original example, the smoking of tobacco; (7) investment, which is the ordinary American form of saving, is that use of wealth which most stimulates proudction and exchange.

These two propositions are what I have been insisting on from the start. I emphasize this not because I think my consistency anything to brag of, but because I have to call Comrade James' attention to my last two letters as containing sufficient reasons in support of my two propositions; which reasons he has not thought it worth while to pay any attention to, because he insisted on imagining that I was contradicting his argument when I was simply pointing out that his argument had practically nothing to do with the case. This fancy of his is brought out w th special clearness in his latest utterance, where he expects that I must either refute some of his five assertions or admit that I have been talking through my hat. S. T. BYINGTON.

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